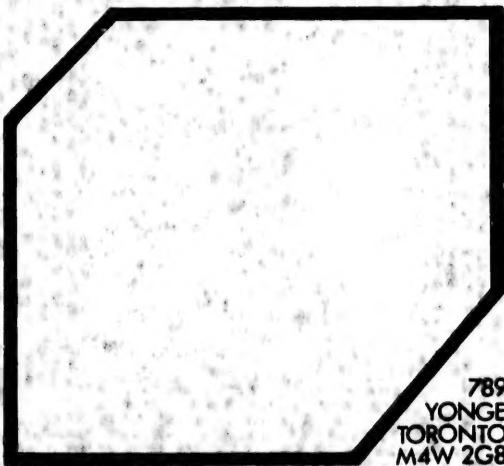




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"SO NEAR, AND YET SO FAR."

# UNITED STATES AND CANADA.



SPEECH OF

## SIR RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, K.C.M.G.

AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE

Board of Trade and Transportation  
of New York,

DELMONICO'S, FEBRUARY 21, 1890.

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## CLOSER TRADE RELATIONS

BETWEEN

## CANADA AND UNITED STATES.

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AT the Annual Banquet of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, held at Delmonico's on Fifth Avenue, New York, on the evening of February 21st, 1890, among the toasts to be responded to was "Closer Trade Relations between the United States and Canada."

MR. F. B. THURBER, acting as Toast-master on the occasion, said that it gave him great gratification to introduce, as one of the principal guests of the evening, Sir Richard Cartwright, a member of the Dominion House of Commons, who, perhaps, of all men on the continent, was best entitled to speak on behalf of Canada in relation to the sentiment of the toast. So far as fiscal affairs were concerned, Sir Richard, as the Finance Minister of the late Liberal Government, was the leader of Her Majesty's Op-

position in the Parliament of Canada, while, before the people of the Dominion to-day, he was the exponent and ablest advocate of the principle of the closest Commercial Relations between the two countries. As the existing Tory Government of Ottawa had pursued a policy diametrically opposite to enlarged commercial transactions with the United States, and as the Liberal Party had adopted as its chief platform the policy of the obliteration of all barriers to trade between the two countries, the struggle between the two parties for supremacy at the forthcoming general Parliamentary election possessed great interest to those who would like to see our commerce obtain the widest extension. The guest of the evening, as the practical leader of the Liberal Party on all trade matters affecting the Greater Half of the Continent, was therefore most welcome—(great applause)—and what he had to say to them would be regarded as possessing more than the usual significance, as indicating what might be the future policy which should dominate the vast regions to the North. A gentleman who, by his parliamentary and administrative triumphs, had won a recognition from Her Majesty of a Knighthood, and who at the same time was the representative of a party who sought to admit to forty per cent. of Her Majesty's Empire American Goods free of duty, was an ambassador that the Board of Trade and Transportation would most heartily welcome, and he had therefore unusual gratification 'in presenting him to their hearty good good will.

Sir RICHARD CARTWRIGHT, on rising, was received with loud applause, and after a few preliminary remarks proceeded as follows :

I entirely agree with the gentleman who proposed this toast, in thinking that it is high time, and more than time, that Canada and the United States should come closer together. It is no paradox, but the simple truth, that there never were two countries so peculiarly situated towards each other, which are at once so near and yet so far ; so easily accessible, and yet, in some important respects, knowing so little of each other—having so many things in common, alike substantially in race, in language, in religion, in laws, in customs, and in form of government, and yet kept so far apart by purely artificial barriers. Mr. Chairman, it is almost a blot on our civilization that this should be so, and it is no wonder that the question often arises—is there any good reason why this state of things should be perpetual ? Why cannot we call a truce to the sort of commercial war on this continent, which is the effect of two mutually hostile tariffs ? (Applause.)

It has appeared to some of your own public men, as it has also appeared to me, that it were well those hostilities were ended, and that it would be greatly to our mutual advantage, if perfectly unrestricted trade relations between us could be brought about.

#### NOT A ONE-SIDED BARGAIN.

We in Canada hold a vast area of territory—as large, I believe, as the area of the United States ; and despite all drawbacks, capable of sustaining a population as numerous as that of the United States is to-day. We have im-

mense stores of raw material of various kinds, much of which would be very useful to you, and the due development and transportation of which would afford a wide and profitable field for the use of capital. We have vast breadths of fertile land, and important lines of transit running through your territory, and likely to be of great service to several important sections of your country. (Applause.) Of the advantages to Canada I need not speak just now. I recognize them fully, and on the floor of the Parliament of Canada I have spoken of them as emphatically as I think any of you could desire. All I wish at present to impress upon you is, that in seeking for closer trade relations we want no one-sided bargain. We hope and intend to give you a full equivalent for what you give us. For every dollar that a Canadian makes we wish that a citizen of the United States should make another. For every privilege, every concession, every advantage of every kind which you grant, we propose to grant a similar one in return. If we sell to you, we expect to buy from you in return—in one word, we want a full, true, perfect, unrestricted reciprocity between the two nations, as near as possible to that ideal condition of all true commerce where both parties gain, and if possible gain equally, in the course of every transaction. (Applause.) Sir, I make no pretence to any special philanthropy in making this statement. I am anxious that matters should be arranged for our mutual benefit, for this very excellent reason. I know full well that unless it can be so arranged it is utterly impossible that any permanent settlement can be arrived at between you and Canada, and I would hold it no gain, but a great injury to Canada, to enter into one which would necessarily be of a temporary character. (Applause.)

## THE POSSIBLE EXTENT OF CONTINENTAL TRADE.

Coming down lower from declamation to real facts, I would like to call your attention to a few statistics drawn from your own trade returns, which, in my judgment, go far to show that there are, at your very doors, the elements of a trade not altogether unworthy of the consideration of even so great a nation as the United States. I observe that in spite of all the two Governments have done to penalize trade—in spite of the 3,000 miles of barbed wire fence which Mr. Wiman so persistently brings to your notice, and all other impediments—Dame Nature is so much too strong for tariffs, that actually to-day your trade *per capita* with Canada is larger than it is with any other country—larger in proportion than it is even with England, which admits all your products free of toll, without let or hindrance. (Great applause). Sir, I see that while your total trade with England reaches to some 540 millions on a population of 37 or 38 millions, your total *recorded* trade with Canada, with a population of perhaps 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  millions, was about 82 millions, so that, without speaking of sundry millions of goods which cross the border without any unnecessary formalities—(Laughter)—you will see that, even as it is, you do a larger business in proportion with us than even with Great Britain.

## A GREATER TRADE THAN IN THE SOUTH.

It is noteworthy too that while Canada stands fourth in the list of countries with which you trade, taking exports and imports together, if you look to your column of exports you will see that you sell more goods to

Canada than you do to any other country, Great Britain and Germany alone excepted, Canada and France being about equal; and, further, that your sales to Canada alone equal the sum total of your sales to Brazil, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, the Columbian States—in one word, that Canada buys to-day as much from you as the whole continent of South America with the Republic of Mexico thrown in. (Cheers.)

#### DOUBLING THE AREA OF NORTHERN TRADE.

Gentlemen, practically, to all intents and purposes, reciprocity with Canada, on such terms as I propose it, would equal, for commercial objects, doubling the entire tier of Northern States from New England to Oregon. Now, what does that mean? It means this. If your own economists are to be relied on, your Inter-State trade has assumed proportions vastly greater than your foreign trade. If I am not misinformed, your total exports and imports rang<sup>a</sup> from Fourteen to Fifteen Hundred Millions per annum, but your Inter-State trade is computed to amount to the almost fabulous figure of Ten Thousand Millions, or even more. Of the exact accuracy of these figures, of course, I cannot judge, but of the immense volume of the transactions between State and State, there can be no doubt, and, as little in my mind, knowing what I do of the resources of Canada, that were these mischievous impediments to the natural course of business quite got rid of, you would see precisely the same results as you now see between sections of your own country, and that in a very few years your trade with Canada would treble and quadruple—would increase by leaps and bounds, till it became a close second, if, indeed,

it were a second, to your present trade with England, who is, as you know, by very far the largest of your customers. (Applause).

#### WHAT ARE THE OBSTACLES?

And now, sir, if this be so—and I only speak of what I believe cannot fail to be the issue of such a project as I have foreshadowed—if this be so, what obstacle stands in our way? What reason is there why you and we should not alike be benefited and enriched? As far as I can perceive, they rest mainly, not with the men of business, but with the politicians. Certain sinister interests at Ottawa unite to denounce this project because it will lead to annexation. Certain politicians at Washington, on the other hand, denounce the project because it will destroy all inclination to annexation. (Laughter). Such statements may, perhaps, be left to answer each other, though I may observe that it is paying a poor compliment to the institutions of the United States to argue, that the better Canadians become acquainted with them, the less likely they are to invite political union. But there is one thing, Mr. Chairman, which is tolerably certain, and that is, that the very best way to repress all disposition to annexation, and to enlist every feeling of manliness and self-respect against any such proposal, is to make it a matter of bargain and sale, and to propose to the people of Canada to barter their allegiance for certain trade privileges.

#### VOLUNTARY CONNECTION WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

Gentlemen, we have our history, our traditions, our aspirations, just as you have yours, and there are a couple of facts connected with the past and present history of

Canada which it may be as well to bear in mind. The first is, that the allegiance of Canada to Great Britain is purely and absolutely voluntary. West of the Naval Station of Halifax, there is not to-day one single British soldier throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and British statesmen of all ranks have been even ostentatious in proclaiming that Canada is entirely mistress of her own destinies. The second is, that although, from the early part of this century, every intelligent Canadian has been convinced that the material prosperity of Canada would have been greatly advanced by our union with the United States ; yet three generations have come and gone without any political party making annexation a plank in its platform, and without one public man of note being found to advocate it—at any rate during the time he was a public man.

#### THE MONEY MOTIVE NOT ALONE MOVES.

Sir, great is the almighty dollar, no doubt. Saints and sinners, parsons and politicians, alike know this, and I am in no wise disposed to deny it. But after all, there are other considerations to be taken into account in questions which affect the life or honor of a nation. Mr. Chairman, I am speaking to citizens of a nation which is alleged by its critics to be as devoted to the worship of the golden calf as most others, and yet, sir, it is scarce twenty-five years since this same nation, when its national existence was menaced, showed, as no other people within this century have shown, that in such a cause the people of the United States could lavish blood and treasure without stint and without grudge—aye, and reward the survivors of that fierce

struggle with a munificence which puts to shame all the generosity which kings or princes have ever shown to those who served them in their need. (Great applause.) I have neither the power nor the wish to indulge in prophesy. No man knows what may happen even in the near future, but I do venture to say, that if Canada and the United States are to be united together, other questions and other considerations must come into play than that of ampler and freer trade relations between the two countries, important as I believe it to be in many ways.

#### DEALING ON BUSINESS PRINCIPLES.

For the present, Mr. Chairman, I think this matter had best be dealt with on business principles, and on its merits. Let statesmen on both sides consider it on that basis. If it be found (as I fully believe it will) to be for our mutual advantage, let us have it, and if not, not; though I for one will continue even then to think that we are standing in our own light, and that in truth and in fact, if we come to know each other better, we will soon find a way to agree. (Cheers.)

What is most needed, after all, is to bring the two countries more directly into contact. There is no reason I should not say here to you what I have not hesitated to say on the floor of the Canadian Parliament, or in the chambers of English ministers of state, that it is time, and much more than time, that these old-world barriers and tedious relics of the Circumlocution Office which are now interposed between Canada and the United States should be swept away. I take your Government as I have found it during my own five years' tenure of office,

and I have never hesitated to assure my countrymen that, while there might likely enough be bickerings and misunderstandings, which the present system of referring every trifling cause of grievance from pillar to post—from Washington to the Court of St. James, from St. James to Ottawa, from Ottawa to St. James, and so back to Washington—was permitted to endure ; yet were we once in a position to deal directly, we would find the United States not only a great nation but a generous nation, and quite ready, if properly appealed to, to deal fairly with us, if we on our side were prepared to deal fairly with them. (Great applause.) It is for these reasons, among others, that I have advocated the necessity for Canada to obtain the power of negotiating her own commercial treaties, and of being directly represented at Washington in some form or other, as well as the expedience of entering into closer trade relations with the United States.

#### A MUTUAL ADVANTAGE.

And now, gentlemen, in conclusion let me say that while I am well aware this matter is of necessity of more importance to us than to you, inasmuch as the trade of sixty-five millions is of more moment to five millions, than the trade of five millions can be to sixty-five millions, yet I believe that, man for man, quite as many of your citizens will profit by a free interchange of commodities as ours can do. Be that as it may, you may rest assured that when I say, that the prosperity and welfare of the people of the United States are desired by us (next only to the welfare of the people of Canada), I use no words of empty compliment. It is not merely that your prosperity is almost essential to that of Canada, but so close is the

connection between us, that in many districts of Canada, there is scarcely one single family to be found, which has not a near kinsman in some portion of the United States, till it has come to this, that I believe one man in four, if not one man in three, of the whole adult male population of Canada, born within the last fifty years, are to-day citizens of the United States. Sir, if blood be thicker than water, no man can doubt that Canadians must wish well to a country which has afforded a home to so many of the most enterprising and intelligent of our people. Trade or no trade, we cannot help being kinsfolk, and I hope we cannot help being friends. (Loud cheers).

At the conclusion of Sir Richard's speech, the proposal to elect him an honorary member of the Board of Trade and Transportation, was adopted by the whole audience on a standing vote, and amid enthusiastic cheers.